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off with them to Sandusky, under the protection of the British Government. We have seen in a former chapter that he afterwards saw how impolitic his conduct had been, and probably wished to retrace his steps, but it was too late. He had suffered himself to be misled by his passions, excited by the remembrance of former wrongs, and thus was betrayed into his injudicious conduct. Perhaps also his jealousy of Captain White Eyes, whose superiority his proud mind could not bear, did not in a small degree contribute to it. Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was, in my opinion, the greatest of the two. I was present when he made the speech which I have related, and never shall forget the impression it made upon me.

Thus Indian politicians work and manage matters against each other without newspaper wrangles, abuse of character, personal quarrels, or open insults. Their ingenuity, when joined to a good cause, generally makes them come off victorious. In a bad cause, on the contrary, they are sure to meet with detection and defeat, as Captain Pipe, for his misfortune, sadly experienced.

CHAPTER XVI.

MARRIAGE AND TREATMENT OF THEIR WIVES.

THERE are many persons who believe, from the labour that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labours, indeed, are hard, compared with the tasks that are imposed upon females in civilised society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration

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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

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while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

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cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

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pressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him. Squirrels, ducks, and other like delicacies, when most difficult to be obtained, are what women in the first stage of their pregnancy generally long for. The husband in every such case will go out and spare no pains nor trouble until he has procured what is wanted.

In other cases, the men and their wives do not in general trouble themselves with each other's business; but the wife, knowing that the father is very fond of his children, is always prepared to tell him some diverting anecdote of one or the other of them, especially if he has been absent for some time.

It very seldom happens that a man condescends to quarrel with his wife, or abuse her, though she has given him just cause. In such a case the man, without replying, or saying a single word, will take his gun and go into the woods, and remain there a week or perhaps a fortnight, living on the meat he has killed, before he returns home again; well knowing that he cannot inflict a greater punishment on his wife for her conduct to him than by absenting himself for a while; for she is not only kept in suspense, uncertain whether he will return again, but is soon reported as a bad and quarrelsome woman; for, as on those occasions, the man does not tell his wife on what day or at what time he will be back again, which he otherwise, when they are on good terms, never neglects to do, she is at once put to shame by her neighbours, who soon suspecting something, do not fail to put such questions to her, as she either cannot, or is ashamed to answer. When he at length does return, she endeavours to let him see by her attentions, that she has

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repented, though neither speak to each other a single word on the subject of what has passed. And as his children, if he has any, will on his return hang about him and soothe him with their caresses, he is, on their account, ready to forgive, or at least to say nothing unpleasant to their mother. She has, however, received by this a solemn warning, and must take care how she behaves in future, lest the next time her husband should stay away altogether and take another wife. It is very probable, that if at this time they had had no children, he would have left her, but then he would have taken his property with him at the same time.

On the return of an Indian from a journey, or long absence, he will on entering the house, say, "I am returned!" to which his wife will reply, "I rejoice!" and having cast his eyes around, he will enquire, whether all the children are well, when being answered in the affirmative, he replies, "I am glad!" which for the present is all the conversation that passes between them; nor does he relate any thing at this present time that occurred on his journey, but holds himself in readiness to partake of the nourishment which his wife is preparing for him. After a while, when the men of the village have assembled at his house, his wife, with the rest, hears his story at full length.

Marriages are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the pro-

9 [examen. See cat. 116, p. 348. —Archivist]

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that they would draw down upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit, were they to neglect those whom, in his goodness, he had permitted to attain such an advanced age, whom he had protected with his almighty power through all the perils and dangers of life, while so many had perished by wars, accidents and sickness in various forms, by the incantations of the wizzard or the stroke of the murderer, and not a few by the consequences of their own imprudent conduct. 888

It is a sacred principle among the Indians, and one of those moral and religious truths which they have always before their eyes, that the Great Spirit who created them, and provided them so abundantly with the means of subsistence, made it the duty of parents to maintain and take care of their children until they should be able to provide for themselves, and that having while weak and helpless received the benefits of maintenance, education and protection, they are bound to repay them by a similar care of those who are labouring under the infirmities of old age, and are no longer able to supply their own wants. [593] [183]

Thus, a strong feeling of gratitude towards their elders, inculcated and cherished from their earliest infancy, is the solid foundation on which rests that respect for old age for which Indians are so remarkable, and it is further supported by the well-founded hope of receiving the like succours and attentions in their turn, when the heavy hand of time shall have reduced them to the same helpless situation which they now commiserate in others, and seek by every means in their power to render more tolerable. Hence, they do not confine themselves to acts of absolute necessity; it is not enough for them that the old are not suffered to starve with hunger or perish with cold, but they must be made as much as possible to share in the pleasures and comforts of life. It is, indeed, a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which, on every occasion, they lavish upon

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"me to count up what I have lost by going to the treaty. 648
"Put down eighty deer; say twenty of them were bucks,
"each buckskin one dollar; then sixty does and young
"bucks at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and
"twenty for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me
"in deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to this
"for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and otter
"skins, and what does the whole amount to?"

HECKEW. "Seventy dollars."

INDIAN. "Well, let it be only seventy dollars, but
"how much might I have bought of the traders for this
"money! How well we might have lived, I and my fa-
"mily in the woods during that time! How much meat
"would my wife have dried! how much tallow saved
"and sold or exchanged for salt, flour, tea and choco- [593]
"late! All this is now lost to us; and had I not such a
"good wife (stroking her under the chin) who planted
"so much corn, and so many beans, pumpkins, squashes,
"and potatoes last summer, my family would now live
"most wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
"to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my land
"and lose my time."

I shall conclude this desultory chapter with another 461
anecdote which is strongly characteristic of the good sense of the Indians, and shews how much their minds are capable of thought and reflection.

Seating myself once upon a log, by the side of an Indian, who was resting himself there, being at that time actively employed in fencing in his corn field, I observed to him that he must be very fond of working, as I never saw him idling away his time, as is so common with the Indians. The answer which he returned made considerable impression on my mind; I have remembered it ever since, and I shall try to relate it as nearly in his own words as possible.

"My friend!" said he, "the fishes in the water and the
"birds in the air and on the earth have taught me to

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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593 everything to his wife and never interferes in things committed to her. She cooks victuals regularly twice a day. If she neglects to do it in proper time, or even altogether, the husband never says a word but goes to a friend, being assured that he will find something to eat, for when a stranger comes into the house the first attention shown is to put food before him, if there is anything in the house. The husband never offers to put wood on the fire, except it be that he has guests or some other extraordinary call to do it, for the woman cuts the wood and brings it to the house and is, therefore, the proper person to take care of the fire.

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If his wife longs for meat, and gives him a hint of it, the husband goes out early in the morning without victuals and seldom returns without some game, should he even be obliged to stay out till late in the evening. When he returns with a deer, he throws it down before the door of the hut and walks in, saying nothing. But his wife, who has heard him lay down his burden, gives him something to eat, dries his clothes and then goes out to bring in the game. She may then do what she pleases with it. He says nothing, if she even gives the greatest part of it to her friends, which is a very common custom. A woman generally remembers her friends when meat has been secured, or when her husband has brought flour from the whites.

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If the husband intends to take a journey or go hunting, he gives his wife notice, and then she knows that it is her business to furnish him with proper provisions. If any dissatisfaction arises between them, the husband commonly takes his gun and walks off into the woods, without telling his wife whither he is going. Sometimes he does not return for some days, when both parties have generally forgotten their quarrels and live again in peace.

586 Young people who marry rarely remain faithful to each other, but join themselves to others and again separate, continu-
837 ing such disorderly living until they are older and more sensible. Then it not infrequently happens that they find one another again, or the husband may join himself permanently to some other woman and settle down to housekeeping. Marriages are
582 contracted early in life, when men are from eighteen to twenty years of age and women fourteen or fifteen.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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years of age and women fourteen or fifteen. There is in general no very strong tie between married people, not even between the older. A mere trifle furnishes ground for separation. Not every Indian, however, is indifferent to the light behavior of his wife. Many a one takes her unfaithfulness so to heart that in the height of his despair he swallows a poisonous root, which generally causes death in two hours, unless an antidote be administered in good time; this is often done, the Indians knowing that the properties of certain herbs counteract each other and being able to judge from the effects, what poison has been taken. Women, also, have been known to destroy themselves on account of a husband's unfaithfulness. To prevent such a calamity, they make use of a Beson, a love-charm, prepared by the old people and sold at a good price. This is constantly carried about by one or the other of the parties and is believed to keep man or woman faithful. Such a charm is even declared to have had the effect of making a woman run always and everywhere after her husband, until weary of life she has destroyed herself, or of similarly affecting a man. For this Beson, also, the Indians have their antidote. All this converted Indians have related to me.

Older men and women, particularly, have another Beson, supposed to have the magic power of bringing many presents to them. This charm they guard jealously among their most precious belongings, and is said to have the effect of bringing them food, clothing and whatever else they may need. It is prepared of roots pounded very fine, incantations being murmured meanwhile. A little of this preparation, about the size of a pea, is sold with a white and black wampum shell for a considerable price, often for a belt of wampum with several pounds in money. The love charm and others are similarly prepared. Usually, this is done by old women, who thus support themselves and promote superstition among the young.

The men have a Beson for the chase. This beson is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots and herbs or made of the seeds of a certain plant. This is sold by them at a high price. They may earn much in this way, for every huntsman carries such a charm about in his

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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information available. On the other hand, the expression of feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80). Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of sociability, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84). They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be superior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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593
next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men 462
and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In 562
the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the
responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, ac- 593
cording to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and 578
Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or
refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just
cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish
his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee 262
were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing
short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of
certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox,
muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the
Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that
opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle,
and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that
opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. [619]
Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle,
turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last
one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct sub-
divisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which
was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the
name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware re-
gard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and [776]
in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince
this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292- 243
98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented [262]
by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced 244
by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes
and other less important wild products were gathered. The 232
262

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common; many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the
861 annual calendar of ceremonies, young children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

[P. 35, A]

584 marriage would furthermore be congenial to the parents of both parties.[15] In practice
586 these marriages usually broke up quickly, both spouses quickly being unfaithful to one another.[16] Occasionally a man, his
[762] pride wounded by a wife's infidelity, directed his helpless anger inward and committed suicide by taking poison. Women too killed themselves out of jealousy.[17] The shifting romantic attachments of both sexes seem to represent an unending striving to find the all-satisfying parent: a striving continually doomed to frustration.

787 The guardian spirit relationship (which was sought by both men and women) seems also to be built upon the prototype of the search for the all-satisfying (but not authoritarian) parent.[18]

572 Among men there was an institution of "friendship" which focused considerable emotion upon a relationship of formally recognized mutual dependency, in war, in
[521] the chase, and in various other life-crises.[19] Men were more at ease with one another
[562] in conversation than with women and, according to Zeisberger, would automatically suspect as a lie any tale which they
● [593] heard from a woman.[20] It was a common saying, "My wife is not my friend."[21] Old
888 women were accused by the men of being
439 the middlemen who carried the socially disrupting rum from white settlements to the villages.[22]

562 Implicit in all this was the assumption on the part of all Delawares—men and
571 women alike—that relationships with women, while they could be satisfying, were not likely to be; and the further assumption on the part of men that they had less to fear from other men than from

15. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 161; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 79.
16. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 82-83.
17. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
18. Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 207-209; Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 245-246; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 127.
19. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 278; Lindestrom, 1656, p. 233; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
20. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116.
21. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 99.
22. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 117.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
● 593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female
562 central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.